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THE OBSERVATOR.

A Defence of the Parrallel betwixt the Sermon of Dr. Manwaring *in* 1627, *and that of Dr.* Sacheverell *in* 1709. *in order to prove, that he deserves the same Censure, if our Legislature think fit.*

From Saturday, December 10. to Wednesday, December 14. 1709.

Country-m. THere are some People who object against what you and I said lately, Master, in comparing *Dr. Sacheverell*'s Sermon on the 5th of *November* last, to those of Dr. *Manwaring* in 1627, before King *Charles*; for the latter touch'd the Purses and Estates of the Subjects, by damning those who refus'd to pay the Loan demanded of them by the Court, without Authority of Parliament; whereas Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Sermon related only to a speculative Point of Passive-Obedience, and the utter Illegality of Resistance on any Pretence whatsoever; therefore they say we have been too severe, and really unjust in our Reflexions upon him.

Obs. I am afraid, *Roger*, that those who make the Objection, don't understand, or at least don't fully consider, the Point; for Dr. *Sacheverell*'s is a complex Proposition, which takes in all that can be urg'd in Defence of Tyranny, and reaches not only our Purses, but our Bodies and Souls, unhinges the very Foundations of Government, and destroys all the Property of the Subject. 'Tis a downright State-Idolatry, and ascribes the same Right to Tyranny, the Invention of the Devil, who was a Murderer and a Liar from the Beginning, which is due only to the Ordinance of God, appointed, as St. *Paul* tells us, *Rom.* 13. 3 and 4, for the Good of Mankind, *viz. For the Praise of them that do Good, and for the Terror of those that do Evil.* That was the End for which God appointed Government; such Governors are really God's Vicegerents, and not to be *resisted on Pain of Damnation*; whereas Tyrants are the perfect Reverse, they are *a Terror to those that do Good*, and *encourage those that do Evil*; they will not suffer the People *to live a peaceable Life, in all Godliness and Honesty*, tho' that we may so live, is the Reason for which the Apostle enjoins us *to pray for Kings, and all that are in Authority*, 1 Tim. 2. 2. Therefore the Scripture is so far from owning tyrannical Governors to be God's Vicegerents, that it condemns them from the Mouth of the wisest of Kings, calls them *wicked Rulers, roaring Lyons, and ranging Bears*, Prov. 28. 15. Therefore, *Roger*, whoever calls Tyrants God's Vicegerents, is guilty of Blasphemy, makes God the Author of Sin, and gives the sacred Oracles a direct Lie.

Country-m. I think, Master, you have made it very plain, that Tyranny is not the Ordinance of God; so that when any Prince turns Tyrant, he divests himself of the Character of God's Vicegerent, and takes upon him that of his greatest Enemy; but still they say the People are Parties, and must not be Judges in their own Cause.

Obs. That Objection is as much against the Prince's being Judge in his own Cause, *Roger*; which makes it as broad as 'tis long, and must involve Mankind in Blood and Confusion, without a Possibility of determining Causes betwixt Princes and their Subjects, which is inconsistent with the End of Government, and the Ordinance of God. Besides, 'tis contrary to the Practice of God's own People, recorded in Scripture, where their Representatives determin'd Controversies betwixt them and their Princes, and dethron'd *Rehoboam*. The like has been practis'd by all the civiliz'd Nations in the World, when Tyranny became flagrant; and as every Man must own, that there is no other Way left now to determine the Titles of Princes, and to invest them with Royal Authority, but the Consent of the People, according to the several Constitutions of Countries, since God does not name our Kings, as he did those of *Israel*, 'tis as plain there can be no other Way of determining Controversies betwixt Princes and their Subjects, but by the Body of the People, or their Representatives, who have the same Power to determine when Princes forfeit their Right, as they have to determine when they have a Right to govern. Besides, *Roger*, since 'tis the Practice of our own, and of all other regular Governments, to determine Cases of *Mum* and *Tum* betwixt Prince and Subject in the ordinary Courts of Justice, without its being reckon'd any Infringement of the Prerogative, 'tis the greatest Absurdity in Nature to deny the same Power to Parliaments, in Case of Tyranny, except we will suppose, that our Religion, Lives, and Liberties are of less Moment to us, than a small Maze, or a Sum of Money.

Country-m. I have two Country Reasons against the high flying Doctrine of making Kings accountable to none but God, Master. The first is, because 'tis dangerous to Princes, and has put it in the Heads of unruly People to send them to God to give an Account, as happen'd not many Years ago, to one of the Grand Seigniors, who, notwithstanding his absolute Power, and the Doctrine of the Bow-string, was first dethron'd, and then strangl'd. You know likewise, Master, the *Roman* Senate sent *Nero*, by a violent Death, to make up his black Account in the other World, since he would not make it up here. My second Reason is, because 'tis dangerous to the Subject; for when Princes think themselves secur'd by such Doctrines, they care not what they do, but govern according to their own Humour, and oppress their Subjects; for, like other Men, they put the ill Day far from them, and supposing that 'twill be long ere God will call them to an Account, they run abominably on the Score. Just like a Highway-man that I heard of, Master; he came upon a poor Man that was driving two loaden Horses, took away one of 'em, and left the other, because the Man told him, he could not get a Livelihood for himself and his Family, if he took both; but as he was going off, the poor Man happen'd imprudently to tell him, That he must give an Account for taking his Horse at the Day of Judgment; to which the Highway-man reply'd, Nay, since 'tis so long before I must give an Account, I'll even take t'other, and so he went off with both.

Obs. The Moral of your Story is good enough, *Roger*. The Teachers of such Doctrine, are the most dangerous Earwigs that can come about Princes; they ruin'd King *Charles* the I. by soothing him upon illegal Things, not for the Sake of the Crown, but merely to maintain them in their Tyranny over the Consciences of Men, and to support their High-Church Innovations: They likewise ruin'd King *James* the II. by making him to conceive, that they themselves believ'd

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Paſſive-Obedience, of which they ſhew'd by the Event, that they did not believe one Word, and the Nation believ'd as little; had it been otherwiſe, 'tis not improbable that he might have finiſh'd his Days upon our Throne in Peace, and without any Attack upon our Religion or Liberty.

Country-m. But they ſay Matter, that the contrary Doctrine makes the Title of Sovereigns precarious, and to depend merely upon the Humour of their Subjects.

Obj. 'Tis ſo far the contrary, *Roger*, that what ſecures the Peoples Property, ſecures the Sovereign's Title and Poſſeſſion; whereas Tyrants, as *Dionyſius* of *Sicily* ſaid well, are like Men who ſit under a drawn Sword, that hangs over their Heads by a Hair, and threatens 'em with Death every Moment; for as an abſolute and uncontroulable Power makes Princes mad, Oppreſſion makes the People ſo: and when both are mad together, there muſt needs be mad Doings. But when Princes govern according to Laws made by the Conſent and Authority of Parliament, 'tis impoſſible they can ever be in Danger by a general Revolt. Such Princes need no Guards nor Standing-Armies, for their whole Subjects are their Guard, and every Man is as much bound in Duty and Affection to preſerve them, as to preſerve his own Life and Fortune. We never yet heard of a *Britiſh* Prince who made the Law the Meaſure of his Rule, but he liv'd univerſally belov'd, and dy'd as much lamented: Witneſs Queen *Elizabeth*, and the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*; God preſerv'd all of 'em from Aſſaſſins, and the Body of their People were a Standing-Army againſt Rebels. The like may be ſaid of her preſent Majeſty. There's not a Subject in *Britain* but would be ready to defend her Perſon and Government againſt *French* Invaders, and Jacobite Rebels; ſo that the Inhabitants of this Iſland are the moſt eaſily govern'd, of any People in the World: Such Princes as rule 'em by the Advice of Parliaments, are more ſecure in an open Houſe, than the *French* Tyrant is in the Middle of his Gens d' Arms, the Troops of his Houſhold, and all his numerous Armies. Queen *Elizabeth* was a remarkable Inſtance of this; for being one Day Abroad, and perceiving an Aſſaſſin in the Crowd, whom ſhe knew perfectly well by the Deſcription that had been given her of him, ſhe look'd upon her Servants ſmiling, and ſeeing that not one of 'em had a Sword, ſhe ſaid, without the leaſt Diſorder of Mind, *Am not I well guarded, when not one in my Company has a Weapon?* The Reaſon of her Confidence, was, that ſhe knew every one of 'em would have expos'd their own Lives, rather than ſuffer her to be hurt. 'Twas indeed an unexcuſable Piece of Careleſſneſs in her Servants; but it fully proves, that the Love of the Subjects is the Prince's greateſt Security; which ſuch *Britiſh* Sovereigns as aim'd at an abſolute Power, never had, nor never can have, becauſe 'tis contrary to our Conſtitution. The not adverting to this, *Roger*, occaſions all thoſe Miſtakes in our Champions of Paſſive-Obedience; they ſeparate the Perſon of the Prince from the Conſtitution, and aſcribe to their perſonal, what is only due to their publick Capacity, as Governors according to Law; which is the Foundary of their Rule, as well as of our Obedience. To make this plain, 'tis certain King *James* the IId had no Power, by the Laws of God, or the Laws of the Land, to overturn our religious and civil Rights; ſo that by attempting it, he made himſelf an Enemy to the Government he ſwore to maintain, while they that took Arms againſt him for ſo doing, did it really in Defence of the Government, and againſt him only in his perſonal Capacity.

Country-m. This makes it evident, Maſter, that *Dr. Sacheverell*, and his Abettors, are Traytors to our Conſtitution and Government, to her Majeſty's Title, and to the Proteſtant Succeſſion; for if Reſiſtance be utterly illegal, on any Pretence whatſoever, as he boldly aſſerts, pag. 12. our Law for dethroning a future Popiſh Prince, or ſuch as ſhall marry Papiſts, is a mere Cheat upon the Nation, as well as on the *Hannover*-Family; therefore, Maſter, I am fully convinc'd, that the Parliament, if they think it worth while, have an undoubted Right to call him to an Account, and to paſs the ſame Cenſure upon him and his Sermon, as the Parliament of 1627 paſs'd on Dr. *Manwaring* and his; for he is guilty of the ſame, if not of a higher Crime, than that Doctor was, whom the Parliament brought to a Submiſſion upon his Knees, ſentenc'd him to be impriſon'd during their Pleaſure, fin'd him in 1000*l.* ſuſpended him for three Years from the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, diſabl'd him from bearing any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, or Civil Office, and from Preaching for ever at Court, order'd his Sermons to be burnt in *London*, and both Univerſities, and the Printing of it to be inhibited, and the King ſuppreſs'd it by Proclamation. But all this is with the utmoſt Submiſſion to our Legiſlature, Maſter.

Advertiſements.

This Day is publiſh'd,

☞ The Proceedings of the Lords and Commons in the Year 1628 againſt Roger Manwaring, Doctor in Divinity, (the Sacheverell of theſe Days) for two ſeditious high-flying Sermons, entitl'd, Religion and Allegiance. Sold by B. Bragge in Pater-Noſter-Row.

To Morrow will be publiſh'd,

☞ A Letter to a Member of Parliament from Mr. John Partridge, touching his Almanack for the Year 1710, and the Injunction, whereby the publiſhing of it is ſtay'd for the preſent. Sold by B. Bragge in Pater-Noſter-Row.

Juſt publiſh'd,

☞ Bickerſtaff's Æſop, or the Humours of the Times, Digeſted into Fables. Humbly Dedicated to thoſe flouriſhing Siſters, the two Univerſities of Great Britain. Sold by B. Bragge, at the Raven in Pater-Noſter-Row. Price one Shilling.

☞ A true Account of the late Scotch Invaſion, as it was open'd by my Lord Haverſham in the Houſe of Lords, on Friday the 25th of February, 1708. with ſome Obſervations that were made in the H---ſe of C-----ns, and true Copies of authentick Papers. In a Letter from a Gentleman in South Britain, to his Friend in North Britain. Price 6 d. Sold by B. Bragge in Pater-Noſter-Row.

☞ The Navy Royal, or a Sea-Cook turn'd Projector, containing a few Thoughts about manning our Ships of War with the beſt of Sailors, without Violences, and in the moſt pleaſing Manner, according to the fourth Article of a late Propoſal, publiſh'd by our worthy Chaplain of her Majeſty's Ship the Lyme. By Barnaby Slush, Cook of the ſaid Ship. Price 1 d. 1 s. Sold by B. Bragge in Pater-Noſter-Row. Where may be had, the Wooden World diſſected, by the ſame Author. Price bound 1 s.

☞ A Poem humbly inſcrib'd to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, occaſion'd upon his repeated Victories in Flanders. By W. C. an Officer of Major General How's Regiment. Price 6 d. ☞ Scipio Britannicus, the Scourge of France, an Heroick Poem, inſcrib'd to the immortal Glory of his Grace, John, Duke of Marlborough, Prince of Mindelheim. Alſo a Latin Poem, annex'd to the Chriſtian Hannibal, the moſt illuſtrious Prince Eugene of Savoy. By T. G. Phyſician in Eſſex. Price 6 d. ☞ The ſeditious Inſects, or the Levellers aſſembl'd in Convocation. Price 1 s. ☞ The Sea-weed Factor, or a Voyage to Maryland. Price 6 d. ☞ Poems on ſeveral Occaſions, by Thomas Couch, A. B. Oxon. Price 1 s. ☞ The Life and Reign of Peter the IId, late King of Portugal. Price 1 s. ☞ The Landlord's Tale, from the twenty eighth Book of Orlando Furioſo. Price 1 s. ☞ The Hiſtory of Don Politico Piſcatori, or the politick Fiſher-man. Price 6 d. ☞ To begin Harveſt three Days too ſoon, rather than two Days too late, or Sentences of the Diſſenters. Price 1 s. ☞ The material modern Controverſy about the Soul's Immateriality. Price 6 d. ☞ Murder within Doors, or a War among our ſelves. Price 1 s. ☞ The Soldiers Directory. Price 1 s. ☞ The four Ages of England, or the Iron Age. Price 6 d. All ſold by B. Bragge in Pater-Noſter-Row.

☞ Mrs. Frances Shafoe's Narrative, containing an Account of her being in Sir Theophilus Oglethorp's Family, where hearing many treaſonable Things, and among others, that the pretended Prince of Wales was Sir Theophilus's Son, ſhe was trick'd into France by Sir Theophilus's Daughter, and barbarouſly us'd, to make her turn Papiſt and Nun, in order to prevent a Diſcovery, but at laſt made her Eſcape to Swiſſerland, and from thence arriv'd in England in December 1706. Price 6 d. Sold by B. Bragge in Pater-Noſter-Row.

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